

596 The members of a house community of the type described are obviously closer to
 423 one another than to outsiders at large, but they fail to constitute a definite economic
 unit among the Timbira. The plantations of the residents are ordinarily in juxtaposition, but every married woman has her own plots and the house community as such has no property apart from the domicile.

596 However, the entire group will safeguard the individual's rights against any in-
 627 justice from the outside. On one occasion, for example, a man treated his wife badly and deserted her, whereupon her extended family met for prolix deliberations and tried to force the renegade to pay an indemnity. In this sense the safety of the individual rests on his affiliation with the major family, and during disputes one often hears such threats as: "I have a large body of kindred." To tell a man to his face that he lacks kin is an affront.

596 On the other hand, the house community plays not the slightest role in ceremonial. Further it lacks a genuine head. Theoretically the grandmother should occupy that position, but this obtains in a small minority of cases because with increasing age her daughters grow dominant. Actually the main part devolves on some matrilineal grandfather or uncle, who may not even live in the house. A matriarchate and the enslavement of women are notions equally foreign to the Timbira.

[52] Snethlage has correctly grasped the nature of this unit.¹²⁹

RAINY SEASON MOIETIES¹³⁰

616 During the meipimrāk period, that is, from September to April—in other words,
 221 roughly during the rainy season—there are no major festivals. It is accompanied by a distinctive dual division which coincides with neither the exogamous moieties, nor the plaza moieties, nor the age-class moieties—withstanding the fact that it, too, is connected with the antithesis of east and west. The two groups are called kāmakra and atq'makra, that is, people (kra) of the plaza (kq') and people from without (atq'k). The Indians are unable to explain these designations. The female members are termed kq'kwēye and atq'kkwēye.

772 All of nature is antithetically divided between the two groups, as indicated by the
 821 following incomplete scheme.

	kāmakra		atq'makra
East	Fire	West	Firewood
Sun	Earth	Moon	Water
Day	Red color	Night	Black color
Dry season		Rainy season	

This dichotomy does not involve the opposition of the sexes, but extends to animals and plants: all species that are black or show marked black coloring fall into the atq'k category; all those conspicuously red or white are kq'. Maize and manioc are kq', the sweet potato and cucurbit atq'k; yams are, according to the species, divided up between the two groups. The Indians justify the allocation of the celestial bodies by referring to the sun's rising in the east and to the new moon's in the west.

553 Affiliation with a rainy season moiety hinges on a person's names, which inevitably place him in one or the other category. The name sets are transferred by the same principle that determines allocation to a plaza group; a man transfers his

¹²⁹ Meine Reise, 464. Nordostbras. Ind., 170.

¹³⁰ It may in the future prove useful in ethnological literature to call "nonexogamous" moieties "agamie" or "agamous." These terms, already in vogue among biologists, would better designate moieties that are neither exogamous nor endogamous. R. H. L.

Nimaendajá: The Eastern Timbira

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their names desire to become "friends," they enter the creek, which is about a meter in depth, stand back to back, dive and simultaneously swim away in opposite directions, rise to the surface, and turn about so as to face each other. The relationship thus formed is taken less seriously than in the preceding cases, but may be inherited.

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Especially at secret nocturnal meetings during the pepyé phase of initiation the first commandant of the novices explains the twofold obligations of "friendship," viz, mutual respect and solidarity. Respect is manifested in various ways. Speaking of or to one another, friends never use personal names, invariably substituting the terms hapín and pinéwé'i without the pronominal prefix, and in the second case mostly resorting to teknonymous paraphrasing. If two "friends" meet on a narrow trail, neither yields precedence, both turning aside to the right or the left until past each other. A hapín and his pinéwé'i must neither marry nor philander; indeed, in conversation they must avoid erotic references, including mention of anything relating to their own sex experiences. Even friends of the same sex converse seriously, neither laughing at the other or mocking him. If a dispute is unavoidable, it must not be carried on in the presence of others. In case of a definite breach the chief preferably appoints as arbiter one who is a hapín to both parties; and similarly, in a conjugal quarrel he appoints the hapín of the husband or the wife to make peace, the spouses being under obligation to heed this umpire's admonitions.

Too much mutual familiarity is forbidden to "friends." When conversing they do not look at each other, but stand abreast, each gazing straight ahead. At the Mummies' entrance into the village, girls customarily tie badges to the horns of the paraders, thereby becoming their respective "mothers"; but a masquerader mutely declines this favor by a movement of his shoulders if he recognizes the girl as his pinéwé'i.

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No hapín may beg of another. It was sometimes droll to watch Čatú, one of the worst mendicants in the village, inwardly struggling to restrain himself from begging of me. If I absolutely refused to take a hint, he would wait for a moment when we were alone, then with timid glances round about he would say in a subdued voice, "hapín, you know . . . I am not allowed to say anything . . . but . . ." Only when pressed would he express his wishes in plain terms.

The second obligatory attitude, that of solidarity, sometimes assumes grotesque forms. Complementary to the prohibition of mutual mendicancy is the duty to look out for another hapín's needs and to supply them by spontaneous presents. They also make common cause in danger and in dispute. Odd is the official appeal for aid in a difficulty. The suppliant waits for an assembly in the plaza, then steps in front of his friend, but with his back toward him, publicly explains his plight, and then goes home. The hapín is then under obligation to do what he can in his friend's behalf.

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But in case of danger a hapín ought to leap into the breach spontaneously. During my periodic palavers with whisky dealers and other such bearers of culture Čatú quite unobtrusively soon takes up a position nearby, leaning on his enormous sword club, and watches the course of events. Sometimes he brings along several members of his age class. Subsequently he is likely to approach and apologize, "Look, hapín, I know you told us not to interfere, but he might have become impudent." And at that Čatú is by no means a teetotaler!

In case of an accident it is a meritorious act for a friend to prove his loyalty by voluntarily undergoing the same pain. Once I slightly injured my arm; as soon as

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171 about frequently married eight-year-old girls, refers not to the Timbira, but to the Southern Kayapó.

[123] How the native theory of deforation as prerequisite to menstruation could persist is a complete enigma; and its occurrence in identical form among Eastern and Western Timbira proves that the idea is not an innovation. I myself took cognizance of its existence relatively late. An accurate determination of the facts encounters difficulty, not because of Indian prudery, but because the natives could never grasp that I was interested solely in the objective facts: they always supposed that I was taking a personal interest in the girl I asked about. That I was inquiring about two or three girls was also intelligible, though my simultaneously concerning myself with all of them seemed a bit odd. I left the puzzle unsolved.

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585 No special measures are taken at puberty, the procedure remaining uniform for the first and for subsequent menstrual periods. Since deforation and menstruation are equated, the diet is the same in both cases, but in the former it extends to both spouses, who for several days abstain from heavy dishes lest their hair turn gray prematurely. Meat, manioc paste, and manioc flour are taboo, while nowadays rice is reckoned most suitable.

841 Formerly a menstruating female is said to have worn a hip cord of burity bast dyed red, a badge that had completely fallen into desuetude at the time of my stay. She goes bathing as usual, but wears no decoration and does not appear in the plaza, least of all for dancing. In fact, she does not without necessity leave the house, where she is seated on a special mat of paty palm leaves. She must, above all, refrain from looking at the plantation in order not to injure the growth of the crops. She drinks from a special water bottle, but may prepare food for others as well as herself. The use of a scratching-stick is prescribed. It is usually a span in length and consists of a rod of paty leafstalk or any handy little stick as a substitute; the scratcher is usually stuck into the thatch of the wall beside the bed.

[412] No man knowingly has relations with a menstruating woman lest he be afflicted with a headache so violent as to drive him mad. If he recognizes the woman's condition too late, he immediately prepares an infusion of cedar bark, sets it outdoors overnight, and drinks it the next morning.

[757] Though premarital deforation has become the rule as it were, the girl's relatives still demand an indemnity unless marriage follows. Usually there is a family council, embracing the mother, her brothers and sisters, the girl's elder brother if old enough, and the paternal aunt. After a cross-questioning of the girl in order to ascertain the facts, the mother's brother betakes himself to the culprit's family and with the utmost calm and prolixity propounds the claim for indemnification. He rarely receives an immediate reply, for the Timbira are generally extremely slow in reaching a decision. There ensues a discussion by the culprit's family, possibly repeated at intervals of weeks, so that the affair is drawn out over months, sometimes dying of inanition—if for no other reason, because in the meantime the girl has had over-ample time to dispose of her person. In some cases, however, the uncle takes a more determined stand and lays siege to the opposing party till they indemnify the others with a gun or such ironware as a pot, a bush-knife, or an ax, the maternal uncle receiving the lion's share. This, at least, is the contemporary procedure. Anciently, it is said (and confirmed by Pohl), premarital deforation was virtually nonexistent.

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171 Like the Apinayé and the Serénte, the Ramkô'kamekra cohabit both in dorsal and in semilateral feminine position; in the latter case, posteriorly below the woman's raised thigh.